

SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN. WHY THE FEW ARE RICH AND THE MANY POOR. By Allan L. Benson.

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WHAT THE WAGE-EARNER HAS; WHAT HE MIGHT HAVE.

Of all God's creatures, the wage-worker, under capitalism, is deserving of the most pity. By all the rules of right and justice, he should share with the farmer in the possession of all the material wealth in the country, because it is HIS labor that has produced all of this wealth that the farmer has not produced. It is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER that brings to the surface of the earth the coal that keeps millions warm, generates the steam that sends trains whizzing across continents, and supplies the motive power for practically all of the manufacturing establishments in the country. It is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER that wrests from the earth the iron and the copper that are smelted with the coal preparatory to their use in a variety of forms. It is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER that fashions the iron, the steel, the copper and all the other minerals of commerce into merchantable shapes and distributes them over the continent. It is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER that builds the great cities, from the lowest sub-cellar of the skyscraper to the last stone on the roof; and it is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER, joined with that of the farmer, that produces the food and the clothing without our 80,000,000 of human beings would be hungry and cold. Yet what has the wage-earner received for all this mighty output of productive effort? Does he own the coal that he and he alone brought to the surface? A thousand times no! It belongs to Mr. Baer and the other "Christian gentlemen, to whom God, in His infinite wisdom, intrusted the property interests of the country"—according to Mr. Baer, not to the Bible. Not owning the coal, can he buy it more cheaply than the capitalist idler who took no part in its production? He cannot. The price of coal is the same to all. Does the wage-earner own the iron, the steel, the copper and the other metals that he has wrested from the mines with his brawn, teased into usable forms with his brain and delivered to those who wish to buy iron products? Ask Mr. Rockefeller, a man who never mined an ounce of metal in his life, yet owns more metal than any other man in the world. Does the wage-earner own the great cities that were raised, paved and perpetuated by his labor? Go back to your census reports and read them again. Scarcely 20 in 100 even own the very roofs over their heads and if a wage-earner were to be asked if he owned any of the great structures of brick, steel and granite that his labor has pushed up toward the sky, he would think his inquisitor was either a fool, a lunatic or a cruel jester. The wage-earner, who, with the farmer, creates ALL wealth, is desperately poor; struggling hard for a bare existence; seldom more than 30 days away from hunger as he learns whenever his wages stop for a few days. And, unlike the farmer, he cannot know that he will have work even for another day, or shelter for another month. The farmer, burdened with debt, may see his land slowly slipping into the hands of the landlord, and though the spectacle of the fruits of a life-time's toil gliding into the pockets of others may be heart-breaking, he at least may know that he can work tomorrow—that his day of reckoning is months or years away and that however little he and his family may have, that they will at least have food and shelter with enough clothing to keep them warm. And while this prolonged agony is often-times intense, it seldom if ever takes the acute, brain-baffling form that the wage-earner's troubles assume when his foreman comes to him and says: "Draw your wages tonight. We shall not need you any more. You are an agitator—a disturber. You don't know when you are well off."

"There will not be any work for you after Saturday night. The shop is going to shut down." Either one of these announcements—and both are common—puts Mr. Wage-Earner right up against the immediate prospect of want—not to the prospect of want next month or next year, but of want within a very few days. His last week's wages may have been spent in paying a doctor's bill for a sick baby and his rent may be due the next day, but for him there is no relief, so far as his present source of income is concerned. The word has gone forth that he shall no longer be given an opportunity to produce with his labor, in that particular place, those things that are essential to the very lives of his wife and children. The law, as well as his own inclinations, say that he MUST provide for his family, which he is eager to do if given only an opportunity. Scattered all over the continent are the millions of his fellow-creatures whose wants create a demand for the things he is able and willing to produce with his labor, yet the man or men who possess the tools with which he must labor if he labor at all—the tools that must be used by labor if the wants of those who desire their products are to be supplied—have either arbitrarily denied him the right to use those tools or told him that he and his family must suffer for food, clothing and shelter because "over-production" has brought about an industrial depression. In other words, if the last reason he assigned, this wage-earner must be denied the opportunity to create food, clothing and shelter for himself and his family because he and others of his class have made TOO MUCH food, TOO MUCH clothing and TOO MUCH shelter! And the wage-earner, if he be a thoughtful man—which he usually is—not then makes the discovery that while labor is necessary to honest living that labor is NOT a right to be demanded as freely as one would demand air, but a PRIVILEGE to be begged from men who do NOT labor, but who nevertheless own all of the machinery with which other men must labor or starve. "The DIGNITY of labor" did some political orator say? Since when has "dignity" become a word that may be appropriately used to describe so base a position? The dictionaries define "dignity" as meaning "elevation of rank;" "quality suited to inspire respect or reverence." Is there anything very "elevated" about the rank of a wage-earner who must go to some capitalist and beg for the poor privilege of putting forth his physical and mental efforts for one-fifth of his product in order that he and his family may not suffer for the necessities of life? Is there anything very "elevated" about the rank of a wage-earner who, care-burdened and heart-sore, must go out of his place of employment like a whipped cur when access to the tools with which he works has been denied him by the man who owns but does not use them? Is there any "quality suited to inspire respect or reverence" in the wage-earner who BEGS for what is as plainly his right as the right to breathe—the right to apply his labor to the earth and its products to produce the necessities of life—who suffers with his family when his capitalist "employer" denies him the right to labor and who then votes either one of the two tickets that the capitalists vote to perpetuate the very indignities that they have heaped upon him? Is there any DIGNITY about any or all of these things? Is there anything about any or all of them to inspire RESPECT or REVERENCE? If there is, "dignity" does not mean what the dictionaries say it does. There is no dignity in wage-slavery. The dignified man stands on his rights when he can and if he cannot, he always makes a vigorous attempt to do so. And the man who "inspires respect or reverence" is not the man who obsequiously thanks those who kick him and furthermore offers to furnish the boots with which the kicking is done. "Pity"—not "dignity"—is the word to use in connection with wage-slavery. What compensating feature is there about a system of industry that holds so much of uncertainty and unhappiness for the wage-earner? Why, the possibility that the wage-earner may become a "captain of industry"—a millionaire—and live in luxury from the labor of others as others are now living in luxury from his labor. This brilliant bauble is always dangled

before the eyes of labor by the capitalist class. Whenever capitalists feel called upon to defend the system of industry under which they have prospered so greatly, they seldom fail to mention the "glorious" possibilities that are held out by it to the humblest laborer. Mr. Rockefeller goes to his son's Bible class and regales its members with the story of his early struggles—his industry and his thrift—and declares in his most solemn tones that this is an age and a country of great possibilities; that the poorest boy, if he be industrious and saving, may well hope to become a "captain of industry." Unquestionably every wage-earner has the right to become a millionaire. But this right, like some other rights of the wage-earner, is of value only to the extent that he can find opportunity to exercise it. And fortunately the exact value of this right, when there is so little opportunity to exercise it, is susceptible of mathematical demonstration. There are, in the United States, approximately 16,000,000 adult male persons. Of this number, approximately 8,000 are millionaires, or multi-millionaires. Which makes it quite plain that the average wage-earner has about one chance in 2,000 to become a millionaire. Even in cities where gambling houses are permitted to run wide-open, the police "pull" a house long before the game gets so hard that a player stands only one chance in 2,000 to win. And they "pull" it on the ground that it is no longer a gambling house, but a robbers' roost! The Louisiana Lottery Co. used to offer greater prizes in proportion to the investment than capitalism holds out to the wage-earner, but the government long ago denied it the use of the mails and drove it out of the country. Socialism takes the ground that capitalism is as disreputable in principle and more disastrous in practice than any lottery company that ever existed and in proof of its assertions, it points to the \$90,000,000,000 of wealth that labor has produced in this country and the 68.2 per cent of those who have produced it who do not even own their homes. Socialism would destroy this system of industry as utterly as the United States government destroyed the Louisiana Lottery Co. and give those who are now wage-earners, these rights: 1.—The right to labor to sustain life without asking any man or men for the privilege. 2.—The right to use the land and machinery without which wealth cannot be produced without giving any part of one's product for the privilege of using either. 3.—The right to live without fear of periodical "industrial depressions," since panics, so-called, are caused by UNDER-consumption instead of OVER-production. 4.—The right to exchange the product of any given number of hours of labor for the product of anybody else for the same time. These are some of the things that those who are now wage-earners would be permitted to do under Socialism: To select any unused land as the sites of their homes and to use such sites for a life-time, if desired, without the payment of a dollar to anybody as a purchase price. To obtain the materials with which a house might be built by giving the products of as many hours of their own labor as there were hours of labor expended by others in the production of the materials. NO PROFITS FOR ANYBODY. To obtain, on the same terms, their food, clothing, furniture, and all other things desired for which their labor might be sufficient to pay. The right to labor would never fail so long as there was an inch of unused land or an unsatisfied desire on the part of anybody for the products of another; and that time has never come and never will come. Desire grows upon its food and the more civilized human beings become, the more they want. Men are now denied the opportunity to labor during industrial depressions, simply because the wage-earners have received so little in wages for their products that they are unable to buy them back, and the capitalists therefore cannot make profits by permitting labor to continue to exert itself. As stated a moment ago, it is under-consumption and not over-production that causes all industry to lag at regular intervals. Socialism would insure the wealth-producers against under-consumption and enforced idleness by giving them ALL of their products, instead of a wage that represents only one-fifth of their value. Give labor the

power to purchase its full product and the time will never come when men will have to go hungry because they have produced too much food, or shoe-less because they have made too many shoes. Under Socialism, those who are now wage-earners would, for the most part, labor in the same places and at the same tasks at which they are now employed. The president of the electrical trust would continue to manage it just as he does now, save for the fact that he would make steel in order that others might use it instead of to enable a few millionaires to derive a profit from its production; and instead of working for a board of directors composed of private capitalists, he would work for a board of directors composed of the president and his cabinet, representing the people. Those who are now superintendents and "bosses" in other lines of industry would continue to be superintendents and "bosses" under public ownership, provided they should give good service; and the less skilled laborers would continue at their present tasks until such times as their ability might make it advisable to give them more important work to do. But they would receive just as much for their day's work as would the man at the head of their institution. In fact, industry would be conducted in a sane, business-like way, except that "business-like" under Socialism, would mean the production of the best qualities with the smallest possible waste of labor or materials, instead of the production of the poorest qualities that will pass muster for the purpose of obtaining the greatest profits. Socialism would make things for use and not for profit. It has been said that under Socialism, those who are now wage-earners, as well as everybody else, would have the right to labor without asking the permission of anybody. So far as this pertains to the use of the land, it is literally true. So far as it pertains to the use of machinery, it is practically, but NOT literally true. All things should be construed reasonably. A man would not be permitted to burst into a machine shop and go to work without asking the foreman. Socialism would systematize industry and such a procedure would absolutely destroy all system. In that particular machine shop, there might be no opportunity to permit another machinist to work to advantage. But so long as every human being has so many unsatisfied wants, there would always be a demand for the labor of every toiler and the task of finding where the labor might be needed would not be difficult. The fact should be remembered, however, that if the machinery of production and distribution were owned by the public, that industry would not be placed on a "go-as-you-please" basis. Everybody, in the end, would gravitate to that task for which he might be best fitted, just as most men now do. But men's tastes are so different and their abilities are so varied, that the desire of the individual would seldom clash with the welfare of the people as a whole, which, in the last analysis, would rise superior to all else. We do not now all want to be blacksmiths, farmers, physicians or school teachers. Human nature would be just the same and men would distribute themselves among the various occupations much as they do now, with the result that the individual would seldom if ever be denied the opportunity to perform exactly the kind of labor for which his tastes and his abilities seemed best to fit him. And no man would ever be denied the right to labor at SOMETHING, to receive his full product and exchange his product for anything that anybody else made in the same number of hours. The wage-earner now creates nearly \$6 worth of value in get \$1 in wages, the rest being wasted by the capitalist "employer" in competition, or pocketed in the form of profits. With the dollar in wages, the laborer goes to buy some other laborer's product, but finds that profits and waste make it impossible for him to get with his dollar more than 30 or 40 cents worth of the other laborer's product. The average wage-earner therefore produces \$6 worth of value to get 30 or 40 cents worth of the product of some other laborer. If all profits were to be abolished and every human being were to be given steady employment and his entire product, he besides the capitalist idlers would be injured? That is the plan of Socialism, but it is hardly likely that the capitalists will ever put it into effect. That is for the wage-earners and the farmers to do.

The National Socialist Platform for 1904. (As Adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904.)

I. We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society. To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor. Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of robbing out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great property interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good. By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literature. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests. Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life. Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable. Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual. II. As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit. The Socialist movement therefore is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity. III. The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion. The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict. This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Whenever and wherever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization. Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV. The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer content to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. Inevitable. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them. Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society. Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men. To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the immediate insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage and municipal home rule, and the recall of officers; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker. But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance. To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist party. And we appeal only to what we, and the men and women whom we represent, are ready to give and have given. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

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President and Vice-President of the great Flint Glass Workers' Organization Declare for Collectivism.

The workers of Toledo, O., celebrated May Day and their celebration was made notable by two resolutions made by T. W. Rowe, president of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, and Vice-President W. J. Croke of the same national organization, who came out strongly for Socialism. We quote the following:

"Coke spoke of the men who were taking politics into the hands of the unions going against the unions going to the hands of those in power. He said that never would the wage scale be raised by any substantial amount, and that the only salvation for the workers is to go into Socialism. 'Listen to the siren song of the labor union,' he said, 'join the ranks of the Socialists and do not be led like lambs to the slaughter.'"

Rowe made quite a lengthy speech in the course of which he was very caustic in his attack upon the history of all reform movements he declared that they had been opposed at first by the pulpit and the press. Regarding the things contended for by the reformers were about to be accomplished there was a "presto-change" on the part of the newspapers and the churches. This, he would prove true in the Socialists' propaganda just as it did in the case of the issue.

Rowe declared further that the present system it is impossible for one to be a good Christian and follow the teachings of

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"Have you any idea how long martial law will be enforced at Telluride?" he was asked.

"Leaving out the oaths the gist of his reply was this:

"The soldiers never will be taken out of there until we have rid the county of the cut-throats, murderers, Socialists, thieves, loafers, agitators and the like who make up the membership of the Western Federation of Miners."

"We don't care what the Supreme Court, the newspapers or anybody or anything else does. The soldiers are going to stay there, regardless of court decisions, and if there is any more monkey business there is going to be some much-needed shooting."

"If we were in withdrawal, the trouble-makers would cross the ridge and return as soon as the snow is gone. The mines are going to run, and any willing man, union or not, will be protected in his employment. There is not room in Colorado mining camps for these loafers. Either we are going to rule or they are. We can't go on as we have been doing. If they can kill us they will rule, but if necessary we will try our best to kill them off to maintain our authority...."

"Governor Peabody frankly admits that the time has come to crush the Western Federation, and that he will do everything in his power to bring this about."—Indianapolis Star.

heel of lawless power. Unless the federal government intervenes in support of the court and enforcement of the law an internecine war must follow, as the lawlessness of the governor and soldiery have progressed to an extent which necessitates the alignment of Colorado's citizens with one side or the other. —Labor Journal, Everett, Wash.

WHAT THE SOCIALIST OFFICIALS IN MILWAUKEE ARE DOING.

The Socialist aldermen made their presence felt at the meeting of the Milwaukee city council last Wednesday in a way that kept them in evidence all through the meeting. When they first entered the body the two capitalist party aldermen joined hands in a war of offense and defense against the representatives of the working class who had dared to come into "their" field. They showed almost in so many words that they considered the city government their special preserve and that the Socialists were mere poachers. They are waking up to the fact that the latter must be reckoned with. We take the following from an account of the meeting in one of the city papers, with some emendations of our own and a correction of several inaccuracies:

The Social-Democrats scored a point in their fight for night sessions of the council, by having the report opposing a change in the rules put over for two weeks. [Under the rules one-fifth of the aldermen can lay over a committee report. One of the capitalist aldermen was absent, so that the nine Socialist aldermen were able to cast the necessary one-fifth vote.]

The majority of the committee on rules reported against the plan for night sessions and Ald. Wild submitted a minority report, in which a change in the rules so that the sessions could be held in the evening was recommended. Mr. Heath also submitted a communication from the Federated Trades Council asking for the change.

"We believe this matter should be given serious consideration," said Ald. Seidel. "We do not ask for night sessions because we cannot get away from our work. We believe they should be held, because it would give the citizens an opportunity to see what is done here and to be present at our sessions."

Both Ald. Melms and Welch supported the change, and on a motion to lay over, the Socialists secured several votes, which caused the matter to be postponed and it was thus saved from defeat. Ald. Smith (non-Socialist) said that the council years ago had held night sessions, but that now it would be difficult to get the attendance of the city attorney, comptroller and other officials if the change were made.

The committee on finance made a report upon the apportionment of the \$100,000 ward fund, which caused such a heated discussion when it was made several days ago. Ald. Heath submitted a minority report, favoring a different basis of apportionment and comparing the distribution of ward funds with those of previous years.

[The Socialists had also prepared typewritten statements showing up the crookedness of the work of the finance committee, which had favored the capitalist wards. These were placed on the desks of the aldermen.]

The motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report, however, was lost by a vote of 34 to 11, and the majority report was put over for two weeks by a one-fifth vote called for by the Socialists—another point scored by them.

Ald. Welch introduced an ordinance providing for placing the union label upon all city printing. After a lengthy discussion it was decided that Printer Frank Keogh [who is already under a grand jury indictment for swindling the county] will only receive \$60 for printing 500 copies of the report of the charter revision committee. His original bill was \$275, which was

later cut down to \$175. The minority of the committee, however, last night, in a report, recommended that \$60 be allowed. Ald. Heath, who signed the minority report, explained that he had investigated the subject and found that he could get the same work done in the largest printing establishments in the city for \$29. He wanted to cut down the recommendation of the minority report, to \$30, but this motion was lost. [However the city has been saved \$155 by his exposure of the overcharge.]

Milwaukee News: Ald. Frederic Heath sprung quite a surprise and created considerable of a sensation at the meeting of the finance committee of the council yesterday afternoon. While that body was voting away the city's money by thousands, as is its wont, and albeit its duty, Ald. Heath, a member of the committee, made this statement:

"The committee is making extensive appropriations this afternoon and before we go any further I desire to suggest that talk is rife about the city to the effect that an effort will be made to so deplete the treasury that there will be no funds with which to make a start upon the municipal lighting plant. There are some conditions which indicate that an attempt to further delay this municipal ownership will be made in the manner indicated."

"As you gentlemen know, Ald. Fiebrantz has presented a resolution providing for a reduction of the public water rates so that there will be no surplus by the water department."

"Mr. Fiebrantz is a stockholder of the electric company, and it appears to me that under all of the circumstances his action in this regard is rather queer."

By the electric company Ald. Heath meant the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light company which has the present very profitable contract for lighting the streets of this city.

Ald. Heath was on the right recent, but according to the emphatic statement of Ald. Fiebrantz himself, he is not a stockholder of the street railway company. He was at one time, but that was a number of years ago.

However, there is an abundance of evidence to indicate that the general suggestion about delay made by Ald. Heath is well founded. If the emissaries of the street railway company at the city hall have their way, the city will be "strapped" before the lighting bonds, called for by the people in the spring election, are voted. The argument will then be that the comptroller cannot sign the bond ordinance because he lacks funds with which to pay the interest and sinking fund. The reply of the comptroller will be that the council voted away all of the money and that under the law he cannot countersign.

Some of the tools of the street railway company are talking in favor of another \$100,000 bond issue for permanent street improvements. This is simply to crowd out the lighting plant bonds.

The Milwaukee Socialists are pleased by the fact that Socialist Supervisor James Sheehan has been made one of the county board committee on investigation into the county hospital scandal. The hospital is mainly filled with poor people who have uttered many complaints at bad treatment and indignities, and there will be no whitewash this time with Comrade Sheehan on guard.

NAT'L HEADQUARTERS.—A fund for the Socialist presidential campaign must be raised at once. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the national convention, party members and sympathizers everywhere are called upon to contribute one half day's pay sometime during the month of June, 1904.

It is proposed that one-third of the amount thus realized shall be retained by the local organizations, one-third shall be remitted to the state organizations, and one-third sent to the national organization. Where no local organizations exist, contributions shall be divided equally between the state and national organizations. In unorganized states amounts shall be divided equally between the local and national organizations. In organized states all remittances should be made through the state secretaries and portion due the national organizations can be sent in the form of a money order or draft payable to the National Secretary, William Mally.

Lists will soon be sent out by the National Secretary through the state and territorial secretaries to all the local secretaries.

William Mally, Nat'l Secy.

IOWA.—The state convention of the Socialist party of Iowa will be held at Reform Hall, cor. First and South and Church St., Marshalltown, July 4th, at 9 A. M.

The adoption of a state platform and the nomination of candidates will be the work in hand. Each local of the state organization in good standing is entitled to as many delegates as it has members in good standing, the delegates in actual attendance being entitled to cast the full vote of the local they represent. Members at large in good standing are entitled to all the privileges accorded delegates representing locals.

Credentials in duplicate are being sent out, the originals to be presented delegates and the duplicates to be forwarded to the state secretary not later than July 1st. Delegates as well as members at large are requested to also present their membership due books to committee on credentials.

J. J. Jacobson, Secy.

Despite the hot-air campaign of the Party-sites to disrupt organized labor, reports from different sections of the country indicate that the working people are more determined than ever to stand by their unions. There is a steady gain all along the line.—Cleveland Citizen.

The Herald is a clean paper that no one need be ashamed to read or to give to a stranger. Spread the light of Socialism. To keep it concealed is a crime.

THE AGITATOR.

Prompted by higher ideals,—By purer and nobler motives,—Broadened in mind by conception,—And eagle-like lifted in spirit,—Claiming the world as his country And all of the people his brothers. And trying to teach and uplift them. Prophet-like lifts his voice And preaches the gospel of freedom, The gospel of love among brothers, The gospel of true self-denial. When one is so needy of assistance.

In words that are sweet and appealing Tells he the life of the poor man, Tells he the burden of women—Of struggling babes in their cradle. He tells of the efforts of workmen And all of the at all they created, Dying themselves of starvation For want of the food they created; Dying of cold and exposure For want of the houses they builded; Living an ignorant people For want of the books they have printed.

Thus and in similar language Speaks he to those who may listen. Some pay attention and hear him. And pause for a moment and ponder O'er what he is telling and stating. Others will jeer and bespelt him And few are so bold as to assail him. But he, like the Christians in Christ time.

Believing the truth he is speaking, Presses his work with a zeal That only belongs to Great Spirit.—Samuel N. Rubin. Minneapolis, Minn.

Truth from a Capitalistic Source.

To the Socialists, the farce of Hearst's antagonism to the trust is a greater insult to the intelligence of the workers than the Republican appeal to their bellies via the "food dinner pail." Hearst is against the criminal trust, but in favor of legitimate combination of capital; he is like the Scotchman's monkey: "You hold Jocko, and he will bite me; I hold Jocko, and he will bite you." Mr. Hearst is loud in his lamentation of the humiliating degradation of the workers, but offers no tangible solution of their manifold ills, wisely contenting himself with exploiting their woes as political fly-paper for vote catching purposes.—Dallas Times-Herald.

In Darkest America!

A tailor died in Chicago at the age of thirty-three, and the doctor gave the cause of his death as "premature senility." In other words, the tailor died of old age. A resident of a college settlement made an investigation and found that this tailor had been running a sewing machine ever since he had been a six-year-old boy. The hard work had stopped his growth and made him an old man at a time when he should have been in the prime of his manhood. And this is an illustration of what the working class does for a leisure class under capitalism.—International Metal Worker.



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FREDERIC HEATH, Editor.

Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Entered at Milwaukee Post-office as Second-class Matter, Aug. 20, 1901.

What International Socialism Demands:

1. Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combinations.
2. Democratic management of such collective industry.
3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased remuneration.
4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age.
5. The inauguration of public industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
6. Education of ALL children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.
7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.

If you believe in the above vote with the Social-Democrats.

ALL HAIL TO THE DOCTORS!

The latest thing is Consumption Expositions. It is a plan of the doctors, who now admit that the great "white scourge" cannot be dragged out of the human family or exorcised by medicated air and incantations written to the druggists in Latin. They have finally had to come to the only way to deal with this great deimeter of the race: Action by the people themselves looking to a removal of the causes.

There never was any other way, there never will be any, and we feel a profound thankfulness to the doctors for their frankness in the matter, even if it does come a little late.

Before we close we wish to apply this confession of the doctors to a wider field—yet one to which the proposed exposition naturally leads. Meantime let us stick to our text.

Now we wonder if the doctors realize where this new path that they are treading naturally leads! Probably not. Nevertheless, if they honestly follow it they will land, sure as fate, in the Socialist philosophy. Nothing under the heavens can prevent it.

An exposition of the kind referred to is to be attempted in the city of Milwaukee. It is proposed to show to the public the dangerous things in daily life that tend to produce diseased lungs, and even to exhibit lungs in different stages of the disease—although we are not clear that this will have any other effect than to scare a lot of people to death. It is promised that there will be many things of interest on exhibition in connection with the subject, the same as there was at a similar exposition held some time ago in Baltimore.

It seems, however, that in connection with the exposition, the secretary of the Wisconsin state medical society will ask Prof. Ely of the Wisconsin university to send a student of economics to Milwaukee to study the conditions that tend to produce tuberculosis and to gather facts and figures as to its ravages. It is this feature of the affair that we welcome most, for it is the path that the doctors have set out upon without realizing where it will lead to.

What produces diseased lungs? Bad air, bad food, habitual overtaxing of the human system, unsanitary living and sleeping rooms, long hours of work in dusty and noxious workshops, lack of contact with the sunlight, the use of drugs, narcotics and stimulants, child labor, and so on.

What causes people to live amidst bad air when the earth is so plentifully surrounded with good air? The capitalist system. It obliges a large fraction of the people to live in poverty-cursed habitations, with bedrooms that never receive a bath of sunlight, and with rooms ill-ventilated and smoke poisoned in winter because fresh air at that time of the year is cold and the price of warmth is wickedly high.

What causes a majority of the race to subsist on bad food? The capitalist system. Wages hover close to the subsistence point. Shelf-worn canned goods is good enough for the working people! The cheapest grade of everything is purchased, and this means that a large share of it is made up of adulteration. It is figured that a billion dollars worth of adulterated food is put on the market for the poor class every year!

And what causes the habitual overtaxing of the physical powers? Again, the capitalist system. Who will ever believe that the human being was created to be a ten-hour drudge, day after day, in factory, mine or shop? Worse still, to drudge ten hours daily at work that over-exercises a few muscles until the worker gets muscle-bound, while most of the rest of the body is made flabby from disuse, is a crime that society must sooner or later protest against, in sheer self-defense.

And what fosters the use of drugs and stimulants but the capitalist system!

What keeps the people away from the revivifying rays of the sun, if it is not the exactions of the capitalist system?

And child labor and all the other crimes against society—it is capitalism again that is the procuring cause.

Will that special student of economics have the courage to point out these things and to show that consumption is largely a working class disease and that it will not begin to disappear until that vast class is emancipated? If he does, the doctors will shrink back aghast at the inquiry they themselves have set on foot, and the report may even be suppressed.

As far as our observations go, the great majority of the human race is already afflicted with consumption; for the actual beginning of the disease is the first appearance of a catarrh from the throat and lungs. With some people the disease advances rapidly, with others it is a slow development, due to some changed condition of their general bodily health. With still others the disease may advance awhile, then retrace its steps and, owing to some change for the better in their habits, their living or their surroundings, may leave them entirely. Cases of this latter sort are known where the disease had advanced far enough to leave permanent scars on the lungs before it disappeared. The old idea that consumption travels a fixed and inevitable course, has been exploded. But under capitalism most men are chained to their fate and their opportunities for shaking off the grip of the scourge are slight. What chance has the miner or the slum-dweller or the worker in a dingy, dusty factory, for instance!

So we feel justified in terming consumption a capitalistic scourge. And if the doctors really mean business with their expositions and their efforts to fight the causes instead of the diseased effect, we say all praise to them AND MAY THEIR TRIBE INCREASE!

And before we depart from the subject, let us give this new departure of the doctors the wider application we hinted at in the opening of this editorial. All disease is effect; and all effects have their causes. Many people suppose that it is vaccination, the inoculation of the human blood with the pus of sores on cows, that has reduced small pox as a scourge. But there are eminent scientists who show that the reduction of small pox as a devastator of the human race has been due almost in toto to the improvement in sanitation, just as yellow fever is lessened by improving the sewage system of cities and clearing the air of poisonous odors.

A normal man cannot contract disease. There would be no impurity in his system for disease to feed on. Let the doctors do to other diseases and maladies what they now propose to do to consumption. Let them educate the people as to the causes. They are going to stop killing off consumptives with creosote and Koch's lymph; let them then admit to the world that disease is a thing to be considered and studied by the student of economics, by the social student, and then let them help the Socialists bring about right relations in society so that disease will not come to the individual undesired.

It is with the human system as with the social system. Diseased conditions indicate the necessity for the suppression of the wrong conditions that produce the results.

Have you read the Communist Manifesto? Socialists who have not read it, don't all speak at once. We have it in cloth at fifty cents, and in paper at ten cents.

"Back Among the Old Folks!"



Vice Pres. Gompers and John Mitchell of the Civic Federation Return to the Bosom of their Capitalist Cronies, after their Annual Unsuccessful Fight for Labor Laws at the Capitalist Congress at Washington.

But the Working Class is Getting Tired of Bad Leadership and Instead of Begging Laws from Capitalistic Congressmen will Soon Send their Own Class to Congress.

Why the Labor Bills were Defeated.

Another object lesson has been given the wage-earners and unionists in our land by the defeat of the Eight-Hour bill in the last Congress. It was clearly and purely a "class legislation. The capitalists were solidly organized and had its agents put forth their best effort to defeat the will of millions of the working class. We were not surprised at the fate of the Eight-Hour bill; in fact, we expected it. The friends of the measure on the committee were decidedly few, while its enemies were legion. ANOTHER CASE OF TRYING TO GET AMELIORATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION. The sooner the wage-earning class come to the conclusion that their class must be represented by their own class, the sooner will come amelioration for them. How can the wage-earning class expect the "other" class to pass laws, which, in their minds, would be detrimental to their welfare—especially that pertaining to the shortening of the hours of labor; their greed is so great. They want the profit of as many hours' work as they can get out of their employees.—Nashville Labor Advocate.

Mitchell et al Make Reply.

The following is a communication received from John Mitchell and other officers of the Mine workers, in reply to a communication which we printed recently from the pen of Comrade Debs. We have taken the liberty to expunge from the letter many words and phrases of an abusive and slanderous character, but otherwise it appears just as it was written, and its meaning has not yet been impaired:

Indianapolis, Ind., May 7th.

Editor Social-Democratic Herald.—In your issue of April 6th you publish an article under the signature of Eugene V. Debs containing a mass of misstatements with the apparent purpose of making your readers believe that the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, and particularly President Mitchell, have betrayed the trust reposed in them by their constituents by using their official position for the benefit of the employers instead of for the welfare of the employees.

Mr. Debs' knowledge of mining affairs is limited, by virtue of his lack of time and opportunity for personal investigation, and must of necessity be general and superficial. He has not sufficient knowledge of the mining industry to be a competent critic of our trade policies, and yet, if he had contented himself to a criticism of those policies they might have passed unchallenged, so far as we are concerned. But when, without investigation of the facts, he takes an Associated Press Dispatch, distorts it to suit his own purpose and jumbles it up with a number of other things that never existed except in his own diseased imagination, in order to prove that the officials of the United Mine Workers are dishonest, we believe that justice to ourselves and the organization we represent demands that his statements shall be refuted and his purpose laid bare.

Men of experience in the labor movement usually pass by, unheeded, the insinuations circulated by the paid agents of capital for the purpose of destroying their influence and weakening the power of resistance of their organization, but when those insinuations are uttered and circulated by a man who for years has leaned upon the sympathies of the wage workers as the crucified martyr of a lost cause, the halo of glory he has painted about himself cannot shield him from the contempt of honest men. What is this wonderful Press Dispatch around which Mr. Debs' imagination has built such a magnificent net work? We reproduce it from his own article.

Pittsburg, Pa., March 6th, 1904.

There was by no means a hopeless spirit among the returning Coal Operators from the Indianapolis Convention which the Miners closed Saturday with a disagreement.

From the best authority the Post was informed yesterday that the break in the negotiations between the two interests is not a permanent one and that by March 21st, another meeting of Joint Sub-Committees will be held quietly. The whole matter will again be discussed among them and a solution to the present difficulty sought. It was further said that there was every reason for believing that the ultimate end of the whole matter would be the acceptance of the lower rate by the miners, or the 85 cents a ton base for pick mining for the next two years.

The ultimatum of the operators to a referendum vote of the members affected. The vote was taken on the afternoon of March 15th. It was sent by the local tellers in sealed envelopes to National Headquarters, and these envelopes were not opened until the National Tellers opened them on March 17th. It would have been impossible for the Pittsburg Correspondent, Frank Robbins, John Mitchell or even the versatile and prophetic Mr. Debs to have known on March 6th what the result of that vote would be.

That is misstatement No. 1 refuted. In a subsequent interview in the Terre Haute Sunday Tribune Mr. Debs dares anyone to put his finger on a single word that is not true or deny a single allegation. There is scarcely a truthful statement in the entire article. Let us be specific. The Joint Convention of Miners and Operators adjourned on the afternoon of March 15th. No agreement had been reached, but negotiations were not broken off as asserted by Mr. Debs. When it became apparent that the operators would not move from their final proposition of five and fifty-five one hundredths per cent reduction and the miners must either accept that proposition or strike, the sub-scale committee, composed of two delegates from each of the four states represented, selected by the representatives from those states and eight operators selected in a similar manner, publicly withdrew from the conference for a few minutes and held a consultation. As the miners had not yet decided upon their line of policy and might not be able to do so for some time, it was decided that the scale committee should re-convene on March 21st, at which time the operators would be notified whether the miners had decided to strike or not. Consequently negotiations were continued.

That is misstatement No. 2 refuted. Mr. Debs says, "The miners and operators returned to their homes. Preparations began for war. It was at this juncture that the above dispatch went out from Pittsburg."

The dispatch was sent out from Pittsburg March 6th. The miners' convention did not adjourn until March 7th and the delegates could not have been at home preparing for war at the time alleged.

That is misstatement No. 3 refuted. Again Mr. Debs says, "Pittsburg, be-

lie remembered, is the home of President Robbins of the Pittsburg Coal Co. and the floor leader and spokesman of the operators in all the joint conventions with the miners. It is quite evident therefore that 'the best authority' quoted in the above dispatch, was none other than Mr. Robbins." When the joint convention adjourned on March 5th the miners immediately went into convention to outline their policy. It did not finish its work until the afternoon of March 7th. A delegation of operators remained in Indianapolis awaiting the result. Frank Robbins was one of that delegation. He did not leave Indianapolis until the evening of March 7th and could not therefore have been the returning coal operator quoted in the dispatch.

That is misstatement No. 4 refuted. We quote further from Mr. Debs. "The National Convention had (on March 5th) virtually declared for war." The National Convention was not in session on March 5th. The convention voted to fight and the delegates went home to prepare for hostilities. It had done nothing of the kind. Mr. Debs knows as well as any man that the declaring of a strike does not always mean success to the strikers. His experience in 1894 is conclusive proof of that fact. A repetition of the strike of 1894 would have been as disastrous to the United Mine Workers of America as the strike was to the American Railway Union. Many of the delegates believed that it would be better for the miners to accept the reduction offered than to take the chances of war, especially when the employers had selected the battle ground, but they were bound by instructions and could not violate them. When the officials were approached by their instructions, they advised them to obey their instructions, to meet this situation the convention on March 5th selected a committee composed of two members from each district to formulate plans to meet the crisis. The committee reported on March 7th and recommended that the ultimatum of the operators be submitted to the miners affected for their acceptance or rejection, the vote to be taken between the hours of one and six P. M. of March 15th and the mines to be idle that afternoon in order to give every member an opportunity to vote who desired to. The officials supported that proposition and it was agreed to by the convention. It will thus be seen that

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There was no virtual declaration of war on March 5th and that the convention had not voted to fight.

That is misstatement No. 5 refuted. These are the alleged truths upon which Mr. Debs builds his flimsy insinuations and attempts to destroy the reputation of honest men. We have refuted them. Every delegate who attended the convention knows our statements are true. There was no secrecy about these actions. If Mr. Debs wanted to know the truth, a simple investigation would have revealed it to him. It is very evident that he was not seeking for the truth. The insinuations used by Mr. Debs clearly prove this assertion. Here are some of them.

"The question is, did Robbins, chief of the operators, have an understanding with Mitchell, president of the miners?" "But the delegates having given up everything balked at least, even Mitchell's 'masterful effort' in behalf of the operators fell flat."

"As soon as the convention adjourned the leaders of the miners began to work upon the rank and file, many of whom are so pitifully ignorant that they look upon a union official as a Chinaman does upon his boss." "The labor leader, and Robbins, the labor exploiter, pooling issues and joining hands to force down the wages of the mine slaves. Oh, what a transformation!"

There is some more along the same line, but that is the gist of it. Neither Mr. Debs nor any other person ever heard Mr. Mitchell make a "masterful" or any other kind of an effort in behalf of the operators. Every such charge is "ever made has been in behalf of the wage workers. The miners have something substantial to show for these efforts in directing their organization. Even after the reduction they have accepted has been taken off they have over seventy per cent higher wages than they had in 1897, from two to four hours per day less labor, improved conditions in the mines and the privilege of expressing their opinion on all social, political and religious questions without fear of discharge. We doubt very much if Mr. Debs with all his organizing ability, dynamic energy, prophetic vision and brilliant oratory can show results for his labor equivalent to these for the present generation of man. If higher wages, shorter hours, healthier and safer conditions of employment and greater freedom of speech is the result of "pooling issues with Robbins, the labor exploiter," it would seem to be a very profitable pool for the wage workers. But Debs knows that no such pool exists. He knows, or at least ought to know, that these results have been obtained through a strong organization intelligently directed. If we were disposed to use the same methods as Mr. Debs would employ, we could perfectly well assert that "Proof may be lacking but the circumstances combine to make the conclusion almost inevitable" that he is being paid by the operators to destroy the United Mine Workers in order that the operators may dominate the miners as they did prior to 1897. We would not be mean enough to even insinuate such a thing. Debs asserts that many of the miners are so "pitifully ignorant" that they look upon a union official as a Chinaman does upon his boss. He knew that statement was wrong when he made it. There are degrees of intelligence amongst miners as there are amongst all classes of people. Taken as a whole their intelligence will compare favorably with any class of our citizens, rich or poor. They are men that cannot be led about by the whims of any class of exploiters. They appeal to their intelligence before they will support it, and they do not hesitate to take issue with a union official whenever in their judgment the union official is wrong. Some of them undoubtedly love and respect their officials, but not one can be found who looks upon them as a deity or as a Chinaman looks upon his boss.

The entire expression is an insult to men who are the equals of Mr. Debs physically, morally and intellectually. He speaks about the prophecy made in his speech at Indianapolis during the Mine Workers' Convention. What was that prophecy? He asserted that we had reached the crest of the wave of so-called industrial activity, that the turn of the tide was downward and that matter how strong our organization might be, we would be compelled to accept reductions in our wages. This prophecy

was made while negotiations were pending with the operators and they were still insisting upon a reduction of fifteen per cent. If Mr. Mitchell had made a public utterance of that kind at the time Mr. Debs made it, the miners would have been compelled to accept a fifteen per cent reduction instead of a five and one half per cent. The public can judge for itself who is the person that betrayed his trust, whether it was Mr. Debs, who announced that the miners must accept a reduction, or the operators were clamoring for fifteen per cent off, or Mr. Mitchell, who fought the issue until the last possible penny had been obtained. Mr. Debs apparently assumes that as a friend of the miners it was his duty to inform them of the pendency of their officials. What a wonderful friendship his must be. The position of Mr. Mitchell and his associates was expressed in the miners' convention of March 4th and was carried by the afternoon papers of that date. The dispatch which he quotes was published in the morning papers of March 6th. On March 7th the mine workers' convention decided to submit the acceptance or rejection of the proposition to the miners themselves, and instructed the national officials to send a copy of their recommendation to every local union. If Mr. Debs was the friend of the miners that he pretends to be and had any proof of dishonesty on the part of the officials, or of collusion between them and the operators to reduce the wages of the miners he should have furnished them the evidence of the fore the vote was taken. Mr. Debs had such proof and we know that it did not exist.

When the bituminous miners of Indiana in convention at Terre Haute, knowing the facts, passed a resolution condemning the action of Mr. Debs, he immediately began to whine. In the interview published in the Terre Haute Sunday Tribune, above referred to, he asserts that "Labor may always be relied upon to crucify its friends." Was a woful wall coming from the lips of a man who started the cry of "crucify them" against Mr. Mitchell and his associates.

Much more might be said in reply to the falsities contained in his article, but enough has been told. Whether he is alone in this attack or is merely carrying out a preconcerted plan to destroy the trade union movement, we do not know. He may succeed in injuring us personally, but the trade union movement is based upon eternal principles of evolutionary development and he can no more destroy it or divert it from the fulfillment of its destiny, than he can destroy the waters of the Mississippi with a stone or change its channel with a Chinese chopstick.

John Mitchell,
T. L. Lewis,
W. B. Wilson.

Owing to the interminable length of the above communication, several letters from correspondents which we expected to print this week have had to be held over.

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Offered thee, do not
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from thee, but sell at
Jules Lando's Optical
419 East Wisconsin Ave.
and get a pair of
Glasses. ARTIFICIAL EYES

A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE DELEGATES

To the NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY is now ready for delivery. It is a large group, 14x17 in. Every face is clear and distinct, each picture plainly numbered and the names printed below, so that every face can readily be identified. Sent prepaid, ready for framing, on receipt of one dollar. : : : : :

GEORGE H. EVANS, 1429 Masonic Temple, CHICAGO.

Report of the National Convention.

The May number of the International Socialist Review is almost wholly taken up with the proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America. It contains the only adequate report that has yet appeared and is so arranged that the really important information which Socialists will look for can readily be found. The price is ten cents a copy except to stockholders in the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company, who can get copies in any quantity, large or small, at five cents each. A booklet explaining how to become a stockholder will be mailed to any one asking for it.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, (Co-Operative),
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DAVIDSON.

VAUDEVILLE DAILY!

Matinees, 2:15. Night, 8:15.

THIS WEEK'S BILL:

GREEN & WERNER. 5-VASSAR GIRLS-
Mr. & Mrs. GENE HUGHES. ARTHUR H. HAIN.
PORTER'S MUSICAL DOGS. 5-JUGGLING MOWATTS.
A MONKEYS. MOVING PICTURES.
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TWO PERFORMANCES DAILY.

PRICES: TROCADERO
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30c. LADIES MATINEE FRIDAY...

CRYSTAL THEATER.

178 Second St., Near Grand Ave.

CONTINUOUS VAUDEVILLE.

Matinee Every Day 2 to 5. Nights 8 to 11.

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Admission 10 cts. including Seat.

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Change of Program Weekly.

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Cut this out and bring it to
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Open 9 A. M. to 9 P. M. Sunday
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Crown Copies by the Town Crier.

The Republican inspectors in the first precinct booth of the Twelfth ward at the last election were either booby or incompetent, so that they could not read the figures on the machine right. The returns they sent in gave Robert Buech, Social-Democrat, 27 votes, while his running mate, Max Grass, had 273. Last week the Finance committee of the city council had the machine opened and it showed that Buech received 270 votes. The incompetent inspectors were Knuesel, Risch, Ganer and Smoljes. Wonder how much more of the same sort of miscounting there was in the other wards!

The Socialists in the Tenth ward have made an investigation of the ward work to see if it was being done under proper conditions. As a result they found that a wealthy woman named Anna Kuhn, living in a double flat building on Lloyd street, which she herself owns, was getting 58 cents out of the pay of one of the men every day he worked, although he owned his own team and did all the work. She got the snap six years ago through crooked political influence and ever since has been drawing the man's pay for him and giving him only a part of it each month. The man is well along in years and lives as no working man ought to live, while she lives in luxury. The Socialist aldermen of the ward will refuse to sign the pay roll until the board of public works straightens the matter out and gives the man his full pay. Everything the capitalist politicians have anything to do with needs investigation!

Watch your alderman. Aldermen who vote against getting more money for improvements in their wards are not above suspicion. If they are not looking out for their wards they are for their own pockets! There is no other explanation of it. In the city council last Monday, Socialist Ald. Heath from the Finance committee brought in a minority report to take the place of the crooked part of the majority that gave the most of the ward money to a few capitalist wards. The minority report gave the Second, Fifth, Eighth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-second and Twenty-third wards large increases, yet the capitalist aldermen from those wards voted it down! Why? Ask them! The following table shows how crooked the division of the ward funds was in 1902 and 1903, also the crooked majority report of the Finance committee, and, in the last column, the minority report division that the misrepresentatives of the working class wards voted down:

Ward.	(1902)	(1903)	(Majority report 1904)	(Minority report 1904)
1.	5,500	\$ 20,000	\$ 10,000	\$ 4,500
2.	6,000	30,000	3,500	4,500
3.	5,000	30,000	7,000	5,500
4.	15,000	15,000	3,000	4,500
5.	7,000	13,000	6,500	4,000
6.	7,000	7,000	5,000	4,000
7.	5,500	12,000	4,000	4,500
8.	1,500	5,000	5,000	4,000
9.	5,500	4,000	3,000	5,000
10.	10,000	10,000	2,500	4,500
11.	4,000	5,000	5,000	4,000
12.	5,000	4,000	4,000	5,000
13.	5,000	3,500	4,000	5,000
14.	2,500	5,000	4,000	4,500
15.	10,000	10,000	5,000	5,000
16.	8,000	8,000	4,000	5,000
17.	9,000	10,000	7,000	4,000
18.	4,000	7,000	4,000	5,000
19.	5,000	3,000	2,000	4,000
20.	1,000	12,000	2,000	4,000
21.	3,000	3,000	3,000	4,500
22.	2,000	4,000	3,500	4,500

A Saturday evening sociable and dance has been arranged by the 14th Ward Branch, Milwaukee, for Saturday evening, May 28, at Eckelmann's Hall, 3109 Lisbon ave. The expense will be paid among the gathering. Everybody welcome.

Spring Requirements

A timely advice - ice is higher; to be economical purchase one of our REFRIGERATORS, with walls insulated in a scientific way by mineral wool, air spaces and charcoal absorbing, with either galvanized, porcelain enameled, or opal glass inside. \$7.50 and upwards. In hot weather, comfort and economy command the purchase of one of our MANGLES, from \$5.00 upward. People using same will testify to their merits. It does not pay to repair an old wringer, when nearly worn out. You can have one of our WRINGERS for \$1.50 and upward. A \$2.00 Home Sewing Machine is warranted for three years; it will last ten years. We have the right ware and the right prices.

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HOUSES, LOTS & FARMS. Improved and unimproved farms in all parts of the state for sale or exchange. Have large farms with stock, machinery and good buildings. Write for full particulars or exchange for city property.
BERNAT & COBUS,
Room 25, Chicago Trust Building,
Corner Chicago and Market Streets.

"Dead men tell no tales!" Mike Dunn admitted in court last Wednesday that he accepted the \$1,500 bribe from Gus. Pabst, but that he turned it over to George Porth, and didn't know what Porth did with it. Porth is dead and cannot defend himself from the suspicious charge. If Dunn gets off on a technicality it will only prove that the law is only meant for the workingman and not for capitalistic crooks and boodlers.

A grand May ball will be given by Carpenters' Union 522 at West Side Turn hall, Saturday, May 21, for the benefit of the national convention to be held in Milwaukee in September. All invited.

Starting on May 26, a school will be inaugurated at 382 Washington st. for the study of Socialism, Parliamentary Law, Municipal Government, etc. The school will be conducted by W. R. Gaylord, E. T. Melms and H. E. Briggs. Comrades and friends are invited to participate, and the school will continue to be held on the last Thursday evening of each month.

The Socialist aldermen and supervisors have been asked to assist in the work.

THE THEATER.

DAVIDSON THEATER.

Eight dainty bits of femininity, known as the Vassar Girls, will be the leading feature of the Davidson's vaudeville bill for this week. They dress in the gray gowns and caps of Vassar college, and play a host of musical instruments. The act opens with a quartette on the oboe, flute, clarinet and bassoon. Then comes one of the greatest saxophone acts imaginable, a sextette on these beautiful instruments. The ballet setting resembles a May pole dance with the pole left out. Instead of ribbons there are long rose ropes which the young women fasten to their dresses. The ballet begins, and the lights begin to gleam. These are tiny incandescents fastened to their dresses, hidden in their hair, and covering their slippers.

Other acts on the bill are Porter's musical dogs and monkeys; Arthur H. Hahn, the English baritone; Mr. and Mrs. Gene Hughes, who have just returned from a four years' absence in England, in a sketch called "A Matrimonial Substitute"; Happy Jack Gerder, monologist; the five Mowatts, sensational jugglers; Green and Werner, in a unique act called "The Babes in the Jungle." The moving pictures of Faust and Marquerite complete the bill.

STAR THEATER.

Fun, vivacity and rippling music will rule the Star theater next week, beginning with tomorrow's matinee. The Trocadero Extravaganza company is a large and competent one have created a furore in all the cities where it has played.

CRYSTAL THEATER.

Anderson and Wallace head the bill at the Crystal Theater next week. The other attractions are John T. Powers, the Manning Trio, McKinnon and Reed, Kinzo the juggler, Eugene Douglas, and the wonderful Crystalograph.



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Wisconsin State Board.

The State Executive Board met May 8, with all resident members present except H. Tuttle. Charters were granted to South Milwaukee on condition of payment of dues, and to Ashland and the Second precinct of Wauwatosa, subject to the approval of the City Central Committee. It was voted to employ Carl D. Thompson as joint organizer of Wisconsin in co-operation with the state of Minnesota. It was also voted to employ Mrs. I. C. Hazlett to do organizing work in the western part of Wisconsin, especially in the counties of Grant, Richland, Crawford, Vernon, La Crosse, Monroe, Jackson, Tempeleau, Buffalo, and Eau Claire. The secretary was instructed to order 2000 red-flag buttons.

Bills were allowed as follows:

40 cts for letter boxes, 50 cts. for scrubbing floor of office, \$6.00 for posters advertising Strickland's meetings, \$10 advanced to Strickland for organizing work, \$5 advanced to Salliel for organizing work. The secretary's report for April was as follows:

State Secretary's Report for April.

Balance on hand April 1...\$14.45

Dues received:

1 of Kewaunee	1.50
1 of Jefferson	2.40
1 of West Allis	1.50
1 of Racine	6.60
Bohemian branch of Racine	4.20
4 of Milwaukee	8.40
18 of Milwaukee	6.60
1 of Brillion90
3 of Milwaukee	3.00
2 of Milwaukee (Engl.)	3.00
12 of Milwaukee	9.30
1 of Broadhead	6.00
1 of Madison	3.90
1 of Rhineland	10.20
19 of Milwaukee	11.70
7 of Marinette	7.20
1 of Milwaukee	5.10
2 of Racine	3.00
1 of Pacific	3.60
1 of Eau Claire	3.90

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We also carry a \$2.00 and \$2.50 Union Made Working Shoe.

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